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the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u.

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods.

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *vai ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it.

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers.

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them.

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who

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the dough soft, for *popoi* is not made to be chewed but to be swallowed. The proportions of *ma* to fresh breadfruit vary. Some *popoi* is made with two packages of *ma* to one fruit; some, when it is desired very sweet or for children, with one package of *ma* to two fruits. Ordinarily, enough is made at a time to last a week, but for babies it is made fresh daily.

Popoi is always eaten with water and there are various island fashions for doing this. On Ua Pou, for example, each person has a small individual coconut-shell bowl of water, in which to dip his two fingers full of *popoi* scooped from the common bowl, and in which to rinse his fingers. The fashion on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa prescribes putting water into the big bowl filled with *popoi* for the whole family, so that one can wrap his two fingers with *poipoi*, moisten it, rinse his fingers and his mouth all at the same time. When the *popoi* is finished, someone drains the bowl of its last drop of water. Melville says *poipoi* was wrapped around the forefinger of the right hand, when eaten (23, p. 77): Du Petit Thouars agrees with what I have been told regarding the use of two fingers (10, p. 362).

As fresh breadfruit becomes scarcer *popoi ma* becomes the staple and they *kahio* the *popoi*—that is, mix it with some other ingredient. Taro (*ta'o*) was baked in its rough coat in former times but at the present time it is boiled, the coat scraped off, and the remainder mixed with the cooked *ma*, the two being pounded together. *Popoi ta'o* dipped in coconut milk is often a substitute in inter-breadfruit seasons for *makiko* or *mei hupaku* for feeding young children. Sometimes ripe bananas are mixed with the raw *ma*, cooked with it in leaf packages, and afterwards pounded to a paste. In recent times raw grated pumpkin, manioc and flour are mixed with the raw *ma* and cooked in the same way. A few breadfruits, called *pateo*, come after the season. These are never wasted.

OTHER BREADFRUIT DISHES

Mei omi.—When the breadfruit season is at its height and dishes other than *popoi* are being made of it, a favorite dish with which to begin the day is *mei omi*. The breadfruit is roasted on an open wood fire, its skin removed, and the hot flesh mashed with cold water into a paste. At the present time, *ti kava*, a very strong tea, is its accompaniment, but salted fish or meat (*inai*) belongs with it. The simplest method of preparing breadfruit is by roasting on a wood fire, as a potato in the skin.

Ka'aku.—The dish called *ko'ehi* in the southern group and *ka'aku* in the northern, is simply made, the roasted breadfruit being taken from the wood fire, peeled, and mixed with coconut milk, pounded till soft, and eaten without further cooking. Garcia says this dish (which he calls *kakou*)

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inch in diameter is laid, these poles being as closely spaced as possible (Pl. VIII, *A*). 252
Above these poles are laid three to four layers of coconut palm leaves or coconut leaf mats of the sort ordinarily used in thatching houses (Pl. VIII, *B*). When mats are used, they are always of green fronds. The alternate layers of palm fronds or mats are laid at right angles to each other. Above the palm layer come three to four layers of banana leaves, split banana stems, fau and fern leaves, all intermingled. Above these in turn are laid the bark breadfruit-containers already mentioned, the bark being spread out flat (Pl. VIII, *C*). The whole is then covered with a foot or more of earth and embers (Pl. VIII, *D*). The food is left in the oven for twenty-four hours.

The finished *feikai* is yellow-brown in color, the darkness depending on the initial heat of the oven, and is about the consistency of jam.

The preparation of *feikai mei pa'a* that I witnessed in Atu Ona was not on so large or so elaborate a scale as that described by Mr. Linton, but differed in no essential from his account. It may be added that *kiva* or river boulders are always used for this *feikai* on Hiva Oa and are renewed with each oven. Formerly, the confection was made especially for the marriage feasts. (See Festivals.) The scale of the old operation astounds us. Twenty or thirty men worked for five days making the elaborate oven which was perhaps six meters in diameter. For firewood, large branches of *ihi* (*Inocarpus eduli*) of *koku'u* [a hard wood, according to Dordillon (8)], and of *fau* were cut. Banana leaves cut with the bamboo knife were carried in in fagots. Breadfruits were brought sometimes at the rate of eighty to the load of a single man.

Mei hupaku.—During breadfruit season *mei hupaku* is considered an 253 ●
ideal food for new-born children. The breadfruit for this is ripened by 252
piercing it with a guava or bamboo stick and, placed in the oven in its skin, is baked slowly and thoroughly over night. Breadfruit cooked in this way will remain edible for some time. When cold the tender part near the core is scooped out, chewed by the mother, and fed to the young child before it is given breast milk, which is supposed to be poisonous for the first three days after the birth.

Mei komahi.—*Mei komahi* was formerly fed to babies when they were 252
weaned, this sufficing them for about a year and a half. When the bread- 862
fruit had been ripened, it was mixed and kneaded with old dark *ma* (*ma tehito*), and made up into small packages in *ihi* leaves. These were in turn wrapped in fau leaves and cooked in the usual oven, from which they were removed only as needed. It was possible to leave them for two or three months in this cache before they would spoil, though it is doubtful if this was often done, for the custom was to carry *komahi* as presents to others who had young babies.

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The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows:

> The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows.

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.)

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) is recommended. 846 757

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" (mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption. [753] [824]

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth. [824]

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple. 844 [412] 853 [178]

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [476]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts -- Analyst]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)."

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up."

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment.

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements.

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past.

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman.

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a